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Where There Is Still Hope of a Nuclear Test Agreement

In the wake of the breakdown in the Geneva test talks, we appeal to Senator Humphrey to reactivate his disarmament subcommittee and give the country a full report on what is happening in the field of underground test detection. Whoever is responsible for the breakdown in the talks, the need for a new test cessation agreement will come up again, whether the Russians want it or not, when the new United Nations disarmament negotiating group begins its work in March. It was the neutrals, led by India, who first focused public attention on the fallout peril, and they may be expected to make their influence felt on the new UN committee. The key to agreement may lie in new discoveries in long range underground test detection. These may make surveillance as feasible for underground testing as it is for atmospheric, underwater and outer space tests.

Dr. Teller Wrong Again

The public has a right to know more about several matters. One is the report, as carried at the time by both the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*, that one of the tests in the recent Soviet series which we detected was underground. Most of the tests in the Soviet series was in the one to 5 megaton range. The recent Project Gnome in New Mexico showed that nuclear blasts in this low range can be detected on the other side of the world. A second question on which we need to know more is the incorrectness of Dr. Edward Teller's famous decoupling computations as revealed by Project Gnome. The salt formation in which it was exploded was supposed to cut down the strength of the waves generated by about 3 times. Instead the salt seems to have magnified them. David Perlman, science editor of the *San Francisco Chronicle*, in a fuller report (Dec. 20) than the Eastern press carried, revealed that the waves were stronger and faster than expected to be. In verifying the *Chronicle's* story, we learn that a full report on Project Gnome should be ready in two or three weeks. We hope Senator Humphrey, who has done so much in this field, will make sure that the results are not withheld.

The *Chronicle* said the very earliest waves produced by the blast—the so-called compression waves, which show the direction of first motion and are the characteristic "signature" of nuclear explosions as distinct from earthquakes—were transmitted clearly to stations as far off as Finland, Sweden, Japan and the Philippines, up to 7200 miles away. The *Chronicle* quoted Leonard M. Murphy, chief seismologist of the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey as saying that "this phenomenon, coupled with unexpectedly long range detection, would almost surely indicate that underground nuclear blasts may eventually prove quite distinguishable from natural earthquakes." In

Our Little Joke About Punta del Este

The Punta del Este conference had not ended in time for comment in this week's issue, but perhaps we can hold the fort with a little joke. Unfortunately nobody seems to think it funny. We tried it out last Monday at a Soviet Embassy reception for *Izvestia's* very likeable Mr. Adzhubei. We suggested it was odd that the world's two most powerful nations seemed so afraid of two of the smallest. "We're neurotic about Cuba," I said, "and you're neurotic about Albania." Neither the Russians nor the Americans thought this funny. The only laugh we got was from a Pole.

We brooded over the misfire on our way home. The Russians think we've been making a spectacle of ourselves over Cuba. But they have been engaged in a not too dissimilar Latin American operation. On Jan. 12, *Pravda* published a manifesto by the Communist Party of Paraguay loyally condemning Albania. On checking we found that the last estimate our State Department got from Paraguay's secret police put its Communist Party, all underground, at 500. This sizeable reinforcement should make Russia feel more secure.

We have another suggestion. It is that the neutral bloc apply some therapeutic humor by offering to make Punta del Este available to Khrushchev so he can use the place, once Kennedy is through with it, for a Latin American conference of his own, to marshal support for Albania's expulsion, or at least suspension, from the Warsaw Pact.

Indeed, if the U.S. would only be patient, it is not hard to foresee yet another Punta del Este conference, this time of exasperated Latin American Communists trying desperately to decide what to do when Castro's notions of Marxism-Leninism grow too outrageously heretical, as one can be sure they will.

checking this we learn that U.S. experts were much impressed because the Finnish station, for example, identified Project Gnome on its seismograph as a nuclear test even though the shot, unbeknownst to the Finns, had been delayed four hours. *If stations in Japan, Finland, and Sweden can detect a mere 5 kiloton shot underground in far off New Mexico, they can certainly detect shots in the neighboring Soviet Union.*

Here may lie the way to agreement, by making unnecessary elaborate "listening posts" the Soviets regard as intelligence threatening their security. The inspection problem has been exaggerated to the point where the Administration is its prisoner. Senator Humphrey could help by throwing a spotlight on this area. We hope readers will keep this in mind in writing the President not to resume tests. As of Wednesday morning, Jan. 31, readers had sent him 963 letters. Keep them coming.

How Reconcile Mr. Kennedy's Ethics Message With His New CIA Chief's Stockholdings?

CIA's Conflict-of-Interest Rules Were Kept A Secret From McCone!

During last week's Senate debate on the McCone nomination, Clark (D. Pa.) dug up the conflict of interest rules which CIA established for its employees. When he put these in the *Congressional Record* (Jan. 29) Symington (D. Mo.) objected that McCone had not been furnished them by the CIA "and therefore knew nothing of the rules." Symington even asserted that Allen W. Dulles, McCone's predecessor, was also kept in the dark, but expunged this remark later from the *Record*. Either Dulles and McCone were not considered sufficiently cleared, or had not established—in the linguistics of intelligence—"need to know." Or else the CIA does not take the rules seriously.

No Conflict With The Oil Business?

These rules, and their disappearance into the topmost secret files, have an interesting history. Last April 27 Mr. Kennedy sent Congress a special message on ethical conduct in the government in which he asked overhaul of the laws to eliminate any conflict of interest "not only in reality but in appearance." Mr. Kennedy followed this up on May 5 with an executive order instructing all agencies to adopt stricter conflict of interest rules. In pursuance of these instructions, CIA adopted new rules last Aug. 29 so strictly worded as to seem to require Mr. McCone to divest himself of a million dollar stockholding in Standard of California and of wholly owned shipping concerns whose main business is carrying oil for the big oil companies. These companies are deep in the intrigues of the Middle East and Latin America where a too objective intelligence could be harmful to their interests.

The day after Clark called attention to CIA's conflict of interest regulations, Symington turned up with an opinion from CIA's General Counsel which saw no conflict between Mr. McCone's business interests and his work at CIA. Normally the Republicans, recalling Mr. Kennedy's attacks on the Sherman Adams affair, would have taken the offensive on the issue. But protection of oil interests is a bipartisan concern. Senators Saltonstall and Dirksen not only came to Mr. McCone's defense but blocked Majority Leader Mansfield's attempt to put off the vote from 2 p.m. last Wednesday until

Unfair, Unjust and Ungenerous

"I also mentioned, when the [Senator] McCarthy was before the committee, that I doubted the CIA took credit for the overthrow of Dr. Arbenz as President of Guatemala, because our Ambassador to Guatemala at that time told me personally he felt he had had the most to do with it."

—Symington (D. Mo.) to the Senate, Jan. 29.

later in the week when three opponents of the nomination, Morse, Clark and Douglas could be present to vote. The nomination was voted, at press time, 71 to 12. The oil companies could not have gotten away with this if the President were a Republican. This is another example of how the Kennedy Administration has pulled the teeth of the liberal opposition.

Mr. McCone's record hardly fits the standards established by Mr. Kennedy. As head of the AEC, by an ingenious trust device, he continued to draw profit from private shipping concerns doing business with major AEC contractors, a practice he cleared at the time in a "Dear Sherm" letter which was brought to light exclusively in this *Weekly* (July 14, 1958). The press ignored the letter, though Mr. Sherman Adams, deep in the Goldfine scandal, was a strange mentor for ethical problems. Since then Drew Pearson brought to light that a shipping concern with which Mr. McCone had joint interests mysteriously moved from second-to-the-bottom of the list to obtain the contract for operating the first atomic vessel just as Mr. McCone became head of CIA. He also dug up the story of how Mr. McCone's old friends, the Kaiser interests, obtained a contract while he was Under Secretary for Air to build "flying boxcars" for \$1,200,000 each which Fairchild had been turning out for \$260,000. On a meagre record, with no real investigation, there is no proof of Mr. McCone's personal involvement. But they illustrate his unfortunate inability to maintain appearances. His decision to hold on to his business interests, despite his new job, is not in accord with Mr. Kennedy's message. Is it as forgotten at the White House as at the CIA?

Holy War Attitudes Trouble Clark As He Explains His Opposition to McCone

"I am seriously concerned at the growth in our country, during the last year or two, of a certain militaristic attitude toward the conduct of our foreign affairs. I am concerned that we tend to become unduly emotional in our conflict with communism—and a serious conflict it is. I feel we tend to deal with it in terms of a holy war, just as that which took place for 700 years between the Mohammedans and the Christians, or which racked Europe in the 17th century in the war between Catholics and Protestants.

"I fear that we do not look objectively and calmly at negotiations looking toward peace, at the possibility of disarmament, at the possibility of the strengthening of the United Nations in the interest of peace, at the possibility of the President's sound premise for total and complete disarmament under enforceable world law. . . .

"I raise the question of whether Mr. McCone—able, intelligent, honest, stable—is a man of judicial temperament. I suspect that he is not. . . . Mr. McCone is said to believe we should immediately resume testing in the atmosphere. . . . He opposed the moratorium. . . . Will not that strong,

honestly held conviction not only about this question alone but also about a score of other matters, inevitably affect the objectivity and the validity of the evaluation of intelligence he will give to the President? . . .

"Finally, Mr. President . . . I have a serious doubt . . . that the holdings by Mr. McCone of over a million dollars worth of stock of the Standard Oil Company of California is both a legal violation of the conflict-of-interest laws and also a very unwise holding. . . . If a man wishes to delve into the tortuous politics of the Middle East, . . . if he wishes to inject himself into the tortuous policies of Castroism and its efforts to take over democratically elected governments in Latin America, such as Venezuela, then he should not have a substantial interest in any oil company, which inevitably is deeply involved. . . .

"I am concerned about his views toward peace and concerned by his apparent view that there is little immediate chance of achieving it, and that sole reliance on military strength is a better policy. . . .

—Clark (D. Pa.) to the U.S. Senate, Jan. 30.

In Gen. Trudeau's Political Geography, The Center Is Where Goldwater Stands

Under the Senate Spotlight: The Army's Choice to Be No. 2 Man in CIA

Looking at the Generals turned up in the current Senate inquiry into military censorship, an editorial in *The Times* of London (Jan. 24) quotes the words of the Duke of Wellington, "I don't know what effect these men will have upon the enemy but, by God, they terrify me." There are thoughtful men among our military leaders, as Gen. White's testimony in the adjoining box indicates, but there is also a generous assortment of windy old warriors who seem to have done their basic training as caption writers for the silent films. They make the struggle against Communism sound like the Perils of Pauline.

He Sees The Left Suspect But The Right Maligned

A sample is this passage from a speech by Lt. Gen. A. G. Trudeau, Chief of Research and Development, U.S. Army. "At a time," Gen. Trudeau said, taking a deep breath, "when the horrible maelstrom of World Communism, now engulfing large segments of the world's populations, seeks to suck our nation, and the rest of the world, into the vortex of death and destruction, I would be faithless to my trust if I did not speak out." Gen. Trudeau is reported (*Washington Daily News*, Jan. 25) to be the Army's leading candidate for deputy director of CIA. He should be Moscow's favorite, too. A passage in his interrogation about Fabian Socialism which we reproduce in the box below shows that by his standards, as in that rightist film, *Communism on The March*, most of the world is already Red. His political geography locates the center about where Goldwater stands, but while all to the left of it is suspect, all to the right of it seems to be maligned.

His speeches make us wonder why the Army picked Gen. Trudeau to supervise the billion a year it spends on research and development, a job we supposed called for a scientific type. The General's attainments lie in the literary field. His are some of the finest mixed metaphors and anti-climaxes to

Should the Military 'Educate' The Public?

Mr. Kendall [Chief Counsel]: General, what is your opinion of the responsibility of the military in educating the public to the menace of the cold war?

Gen. White [former Chief of Staff U.S. Air Force]: It seems to me the role of the military in the education of the U.S. public is a very sensitive question and one that can be misused. I am not sure that I would like it if I were a member of the public. And I am equally sure that as a member of the military I would have a question that the education of the U.S. public is part of my main job.

Sen. Saltonstall (R. Mass.): Would your opinion be changed if you changed 'educate' to 'inform'?

Gen. White: I would like to have everyone who knows about the internal menace of Communism preach it to high heaven but as a matter of principle I am dubious about the military having that mission. Now suppose by a miracle Communism disappeared from the face of the earth, and yet we had set the precedent of the military informing—I would say indoctrinating, educating—the public against this particular subject. You have opened the door. Where do we go from there? Again, I am talking principle.

Sen. Stennis (D. Miss.): You want to keep the military profession more strictly military?

Gen. White: I think you have said it for me.

—Senate inquiry into "military muzzling" Jan. 25.

be found in the Stennis committee's anthology of Pentagon prose. One of our favorites is the peroration in which Gen. Trudeau warned, "The outcome will determine not only whether we live in a free or a slave state but whether world trade will be based on four rubles to the dollar or four dollars to the ruble." We'd gladly pay four dollars for a ruble to stay free.

Gen. Trudeau Is Suspicious of Fabian Socialists and Protective Toward Right-Wingers

Sen. Bartlett (D. Ala.): General, I note that a mandatory change was made in a speech you delivered before the National Strategy Seminar on Jan. 21, 1961. You had undertaken to say: "We will be blocked not only by selfish interests who are unable to rise to the occasion, but by the Fabian Socialists and Communists who", and so forth. Would you equate the Fabian Socialists and Communists?

Gen. Trudeau: [Chief of Research and Development, U.S. Army]: I do not know that my definition of Fabian Socialism agrees with yours, Senator, because I don't know what yours is—

Sen. Bartlett: I must say that I do not have one. I do not know much about Fabian Socialism.

Gen. Trudeau: Perhaps I should not either, but it is a term that has come down, as I understand it, from a society of socialists that was organized in 1884 to spread socialist principles gradually. . . .

The Fabian Socialists, as such, using the tactics of [the famous Roman General] Fabius himself, are supposed to be those who lean toward Communism, perhaps a little more toward that intermediate step called socialism, and in the belief that that can be attained and should be attained without revolution and by evolution. . . .

And this represents some of those to the left who seem to appear at various times, usually anonymously, and not

in the records of Mr. Hoover, as are the card-carrying Communists, who sometimes raise questions as to where we are going or where they would like us to go.

I cannot name these individuals. I think there are some of them and where they are I don't know. But in this term of "Fellow travellers", I was associating it with people who are definitely left to the center, and I base the center in my interpretation as being an advocate of those principles on which our country is established, including the spiritual guidance and God and the respect for the dignity of man.

And the belief in private enterprise within reasonable direction and not in the control of the state, so that man becomes a slave. This is where I stand with respect to the center position. The people I am talking about, whatever terminology I happened to use at the time, fall in the category that are substantially to the left of this position.

And to these people sometimes the individual who stands as solidly to the center of things we have long believed in, is attributed to be an extreme right wing radical, without evidence of this being the fact, but making good news as far as they are concerned. I hope this answers your question, Senator Bartlett.

Sen. Bartlett: In my opinion you have made a most helpful statement and you have been a splendid witness.

—Senate inquiry into "military muzzling" Jan. 24.

More Than Urban Renewal, This Country Needs Renewal of Its Free Traditions

Mr. Kennedy Will Have to Do More Than Glare Icily at Sarah McClendon

Some of my liberal colleagues may be a trifle too ecstatic over the contempt and anger with which the President greeted Sarah McClendon's rasping question at press conference about "two well-known security risks" in the State Department. What did they expect Mr. Kennedy to do? Kiss her? We have grown so accustomed to pusillanimity that the instinctive reaction of an executive and a gentleman when subordinates are slandered is treated as if it were some kind of libertarian Thermopylae. Much more needs to be done. The incident should make the President realize that, far more than urban renewal, this country needs renewal of its free institutions. The First Amendment isn't what it used to be and dissent is no longer a respectable neighborhood.

Fair Play Was Once Regarded as American

Fair play used to be thought of as an American characteristic but anyone even vaguely accused of being a security risk is regarded as outside the protective pale of the laws of slander. Mrs. McClendon in her gross way was only reflecting this atmosphere. Of the two "well known security risks" she named, one was unknown to me or any other reporter I have been able to find. The other, Wm. A. Wieland, could better be described as well-smeared. The Senate Internal Security Committee, with characteristic impartiality, has released all the adverse testimony against him in the Cuban affair but withheld that in his favor.

Yet we have grown so accustomed to character assassination that there was no public outcry during the week when a Senate committee approved \$325,000 for another year of its practice by the Internal Security Committee. And on the other side of the Capitol only two Congressmen, Ryan of New York and Roosevelt of California, recorded themselves in opposition when the House voted \$350,000 more for the Un-American Activities Committee. The House, like the Senate, is literally afraid to stand up and be counted on the issue.

Unfortunately Mr. Kennedy, though urbane and civilized, has rarely been responsive to issues of civil liberties. The First Amendment and Jefferson strike no strong chords of sympathy in him. This was apparent when he was asked at the same press conference about the new postal bill's censor-

Rep. Ryan on The Un-Americans

"We should remember that the issue involved is democracy. The Un-American Activities Committee, the atmosphere of anxiety it embodies, and the fear and suspicion it spreads are the antithesis to the spirit of democracy. The democratic spirit demands controversy, dissent, free discussion, and free association. These the committee clearly opposes. The committee itself is the high priest of acceptability. It alone defines what is and what is not un-American. When students oppose the committee, it accuses them of toying with treason. The committee has lost faith in the democratic process. It is vital to that process that dissent be heard and differences be argued out to be accepted or rejected by ultimate common sense."

—Rep. John F. Ryan (D. N.Y.) opposing a new \$350,000 appropriation for the un-Americans in the House Jan. 24 where it was passed by voice vote, only Ryan and James Roosevelt of California recording opposition.

ship provisions, to give them their right name.

Mr. Kennedy didn't think they gave the Attorney General "very clear guidance" and hoped the Senate would examine the language to "make sure it's effective." It's true he said something at the end about the American people being "used to hearing all sides" (a useful myth, but a myth all the same). There was no fire in the answer.

These postal provisions are a triumph of Birchism. They are embodied in the so-called Cunningham-Rousselot amendment, the latter being one of the two members of the House who are members of the John Birch Society. The provisions are broad enough to bar from the mails matter of domestic as well as foreign origin if the Attorney General deems it "financed or sponsored directly or indirectly by any Communist controlled government." How does the Attorney General make this determination without examining the mails? Even Mr. Walter last year said this was unconstitutional. But no clear word on the subject comes from the White House and only two Congressmen, both from New York City, the Democrat Ryan and the Republican Lindsay, voted against it.

Suggestion: One Topeka, Kansas, Reader Holding A Letter-Writing Party to Speed Those Test Appeals to JFK

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